FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

VOL. VI. NO. 17. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, MARCH 11, 1900. WHOLE NO. 257.

RESPONSIBILITY AND SOLIDARITY IN THE LABOR STRUGGLE:

THEIR PRESENT LIMITS AND THEIR POSSIBLE EXTENSION.

(The substance of a paper read on December 5, 1899, before the Freedom Discussion Group, London, by M. Nettlau.)

(Concluded from last week.)

I wanted to find a means of action which would lead large masses of the people to a conception and acceptation of a real and serious combination of the inseparable feelings of human dignity, and freedom and of solidarity.

I believe one such *means* to be obtainable, *if the two elements just discussed are properly combined and utilized*, namely: *the necessity to interest the public* (the mass of the workers) *economically in strikes as well as the strikers themselves; and the necessity for the workers of a feeling of reponsibility for what they do*,—making them use their efforts to cease to injure their fellow men by unsocial work.

Such means would give an impetus to the feelings of self-respect and of solidarity, and would consequently lead large masses on the road to freedom, making them answerable to further propaganda, as the teachings of propaganda would no longer to such a degree be contradicted by their and our own lives, as is the case at present.

The main outlines of such means are, in my opinion, for the workers: To refuse to do work detrimental to the public, strengthening their position by exposing to the public plainly how they are deceived and defrauded; and for the public: To support such movements, strikes based on such grounds, by active sympathy and the boycott. Such strikes may end by a gain to the strikers and to the public, this time, really at the cost of the capitalist, reducing his rate of profit. They cannot destroy the root of the system, as no strike can, unless it be determined refusal to work for others, the general strike, the social-revolution,—but they can link together the working classes to a greater extent than they are at present; strikes would lose their individualist character and become matters of *collective* interest, which they are today by sentiment and the personal conviction of some only, not by their economic basis.

In practice these tactics may assume, of course, manifold forms. They ought to form part and body of the conscience of Trade Unionist and Socialists before all; after this practical efforts will not be wanting.

If, e. g., the organized *building* trades would resolve that no Unionist must touch *slums*, helping neither to erect nor to repair them,—at the same time exposing to the public the hopelessly unsanitary character of all patchwork in this direction, the question of housing would come before the public in a larger sense than it ever has been in spite of committees, meetings, newspaper campaigns, etc. No wonder that the people remain indifferent to all this agitation, when they see that in reality all goes on as before;—their own friends and neighbors, if in the building trade, perpetuating the housing misery by their ridiculous repairs, while they themselves, perhaps, if in the retail trade, return the compliment by selling poisoned stuff to eat and to drink to the builders' laborers, etc One cuts the other's throat and the capitalist pulls the strings. If house property is *condemned* at last, this is done neither by the people who inhabit it and *need but leave it alone*, nor by the workers who repair it and *need but leave it alone also*, but by the sanitary *authorities*, who act in solidarity with the rich classes, protecting them from infection by centers of disease! Initiative and self-respect are almost nowhere with the victims of this system, and to create them no effort ought to be spared; and the feeling of responsibility is one of the means to this effect.

If the building trades of London resolved not to lay their hands on the immense areas of slums in the East and the South of London, by one stroke the question not only of housing but also of landlordism would come to the front. The cry of the public in reply would be: *No rent*; and the shop-assistants might help by coming out, refusing to handle further the abominable food which they now sell. This might give to some East-enders the idea to inspect the housing accommodation in the West-end closer, or to study the food supply at the docks. In any case, there would be a slight chance of getting rid of the worst features of the East-end, which is something, and the amount of new and clean work which the building trade would get to do in better surroundings would repay them for the sacrifice of such a strike.

Or let the *textile* trades expose the shoddy clothes production and refuse to produce them any longer. Even smaller sections who may be occupied in making such goods look bright, smooth and durable on the outside, could do something to lay this before the public and set things going.

Again, as to *chemical* works, white lead hells and the like where the *work itself*, not the product, is ruinous to health, no amount of commiseration and pity nor legislation seems effective; to make these places deserted, shame ought to be heaped on those who allow themselves to be murdered there, considering them worse than blacklegs (as they really are), for they keep these places going, and as they are worked, new victims—ignorant sometimes on entering work—are attracted day by day to fill the thinned ranks of these inevitable victims.

Or, might not the shop-assistants win many of their immediate demands, if they seriously resolved to consider it as *dishonorable* to tell lies to the public as they do now to make large sales to maintain or better their position? The public would stand by them naturally, boycotting the obstinate shopkeeper, who would be left alone with his discredited, inferior stuff. It is really hard for the public at large to feel sympathy with this class of workers as they are at present: we may be sorry for their long hours of work, and submit in good humor to the inconvenience caused sometimes to us by early closing, but we know that our sympathy will not prevent the salesmen selling us stale food for fresh, if the shopkeeper expects them to do so.

In short, as *consumers* we cannot feel sympathy with the tool of the capitalist, and as the large masses in both cases are *workers*, they remain divided and hostile among themselves, and only practical action, *mutual solidarity*, can overcome this existing hostility; conviction and sentiment are good factors also, but do not meet all case .

I think that these examples, well or ill chosen as they may be, illustrate at any rate my meaning, which does not stand or fall with the value of these examples, however. I fully see the difficulty of making a start in this direction, and suggest the discussion of the subject of responsibility as the first step. Once a principle is understood and accepted by however a few, men come forward, uncalled, unprepared, unorganized to *act upon it*. A movement may start in the smallest shop by the workers throwing down their tools and refusing to do any longer their worthless, unsocial work; or it may be inaugurated in the orthodox way by resolutions of congress, etc. The idea is, after all, only a small step forward in altruism. If a man who helps to lower the wages, etc., of his fellow workers is despised as a blackleg (scab) on account of his unsocial act *in this question*, let this be extended to *all unsocial work*; and if the particular workers will not see this first, let the public see this first and act upon it.

All this may sound hard and heartless, but I see only two alternatives: either be purely *sentimental*, shut your eyes to reason, pity everybody, excuse everything, and you must end by crying over the soldier killed and wounded or the policeman sometimes come to grief in the exercize of *their duties*. Or be logical, and then you cannot find an excuse for all this except the altogether untrained state of public opinion on this matter, and your next step will be to try to arise public opinion on the question. In ignoring or denying the principle of responsibility, one simply follows either the fallacious ways of superficiality and cowardice, saddling somebody else with what we shirk ourselves, or of mere sentimentalism, instead of accepting at last an unwelcome truth. Unwelcome, I call it, because it apparently increases the work that remains to be done before a real change can be expected,—but, as I said before, if the people remain as they are, a change will never come.

It will be clear from the preceding, that my suggestion is two-fold: of raising the feeling of responsibility and of utilising it for the so to speak collectivist strikes or strikes in the public interest as described. If the latter are judged to be impracticable, the former proposal remains unshaken, and other means ought to be found to create and to utilize this all important feeling. I strongly feel that it is unworthy of men to do to their fellow men whatever harm the capitalist bids them to do, justified in their belief by the shallow excuse of—*I am only a tool.* This may do for those who accept the present system and are satisfied to be the tools of the capitalists and the enslavers of their fellow men. But those who do such unsocial acts and yet reject the present system are, unconsciously, cowards, who will never really overthrow it. *I want men to become free in their own minds first; then refuse to do work that perpetuates the misery and slavery of their fellow men, and thus to create a broad current of sympathy and solidarity, the proper basis for further action.*

This economic action seems to me to be the nearest to a man who feels free himself, and finds the basis of his freedom in the freedom and wellbeing of all others. If he cannot by refusing to work for the capitalist altogether make an end to the present system, he will try at any rate not to work to the detriment of his fellow men, dictated by his own self-respect, and unheeding even whether their solidarity responds immediately or not. This is the Anarchist way of doing ourselves what we wish to see done.

The old political and authoritarian way is that of washing our hands of it, proclaiming these things as inevitable and thereby perpetuating them, trusting that others will do something for us which we ourselves *will not* or *cannot* do (terms but too often interchangeable!). Not accepting this first principle in politics, we ought to reject in social matters in the largest degree, and hence emphasize the responsibility of every one for what he does.

I will but add that in discussing this subject the term *morality* should not be used in the sense of my requiring the workers to become more *moral*. I have not used this word in this connection and it is open to misunderstanding. I want them to become self-respecting, dignified, free before all, and then their own feeling will tell them *to refuse unsocial acts in the widest sense* as they now refuse to become informers and blacklegs. It is very well to say: first destroy the capitalist system and then they will acquire these qualities. But who is to destroy this system, we must ask, since Marx's dogma that the capitalists will will swallow one another until none is left, no longer comforts us as it did so long the Social Democrats?

In conclusion I repeat, that I do not wish to lessen the importance of any existing method of propaganda, but would like to see the present method discussed, especially when Anarchists meet Trade-Unionists. An extension of trade unions' action from mere trade matters to efforts of public emancipation might be an ultimate outcome and would win the sympathies of all who feel free themselves and want others to be free as well.

I should also like to see previous efforts in the same direction, which I ignore, communicated here.

* * * * *

For St. Louis, Mo.

A Paris Commune commemoration will be held March 17 at Dornhoefer's Hall, 9th & Clark Ave. Admission free, all welcome. THE DEBATING CLUB.

* * * * *

We are strictly confined to our men to whom we give liberty.—Thoreau.

FREE SOCIETY.

FORMERLY "THE FIREBRAND."

Published Weekly by Free Society Publishing Ass'n.

50 CENTS A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 236 Clinton Park, San Francisco, Calif. For visiters off Market St. Castro car.

Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

"What the legislature meets for annually," says the Newark Courier, "is to devise new schemes by which to filch more money from the pockets of the people according to law."

◆ ◆ ◆

Friend Byington becomes somewhat indignant when mention is made of the infernal Puritan Blue Laws. He may probably have read that several weeks ago a man was arrested in Connecticut for skating on Sunday. This at the end of the nineteenth century!

◆ ◆ ◆

Our contemporary Les Temps Nouveaux of Paris, France, contains the good news that the Spanish government at last has decided to liberate the innocent victims who have been imprisoned for 40 months and so barbarously tortured at Montjuich. In France efforts are being made to raise money for these unfortunate comrades who are to enter society broken in health and without means of support. The Italian comrades of this city have also taken the initiative to circulate a subscription list for the benefit of our Spanish comrades.

◆ ◆ ◆

"If the Transvaal had been a vegetable garden there would have been no war," says James O'Haire, a Catholic priest who has for many years lived among the Boers, "but it is a rich goldfield—the richest on earth—and therefore the owners, the Boers, who are unwilling to be robbed, must be mowed down to feed ambition and greed."

◆ ◆ ◆

Comstockism seems to keep pace with imperialism. Many papers have been suppressed during the last year under the pretense of alleged indecency, a technical charge under cover of which the government and bigots endeavor to suppress a press that is not in accord with legal highway robbery and Christian bigotry. The latest victims of Puritanism and intolerance are Charles Moore, editor of the Blue Grass Blade, Lexington, Ky., and his publisher, Jas. Hughes. Both have been indicted and arrested for alleged violation of the postal laws. Thus the government menaces the freedom of the press and the liberty of the people, which is supposed to protect them. The pretext for this outrage is an article entitled "The Virgin Mary," which, though without merit, seems to have aggravated the pious minds of the blue grass State where political fraud and murder is the order of the day. All liberals should write to Judge Evans, of Louisville, Ky., and protest against the persecution.

◆ ◆ ◆

Clothed With The Sun is the name of a new monthly, edited and published by the veteran of woman's emancipation, Mrs. Lois Waisbrooker. While the paper is "devoted to the freedom of woman," urging her to assert her rights and throw off the yoke of man's thraldom, Mrs. Waisbrooker does not forget the economic side of the question. The subscription price is only 30 cents a year. Address: Lois Waisbrooker 1501½ Market St., San Francisco, Cal.

◆ ◆ ◆

La Protesta Umana is a new eight page Anarchist monthly in the Italian language. Price 25 cents a year. Address: E. Travaglio, 729 Montgomery St., San Francisco, Cal.

◆ ◆ ◆

I think M. Netlau's and Susan Patton's articles are splendid replies to Comrade Addis' mincing attitude toward inconcistency. Notwithstanding, I would like to ask: If every one knows "what Anarchy really is," and is able to write "splendidly against legal marriage," yet keeps on living in conformity with existing institutions, what will the knowledge amount to?

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

For Boston.

A Paris Commune commemoration will be held in Caladonia Hall, 45 Elliot street, on Sunday, March 18, 7 30 p. m. After the lecture songs and recitations will be given in the English, German and Italian languages.

SOME NOTES.

It seems as if no time was ever so full as the present with evidences of the utter rottenness of authoritarian institutions. The record of each day's events is a voluble protest against the infamous system under which we are living. An intelligent reading of even the daily papers, in spite of all they suppress, is enough to make an Anarchist out of every honest man.

◆ ◆ ◆

Speaking of the press, I see that the Rev. Chas. Sheldon is about to demonstrate how Jesus would edit a paper. I believe the reverend gentleman is a trinitarian. If so, he must believe that Jesus was God. Hence his purpose, with the usual modesty of his profession, is to show just how Almighty God would run a daily paper! He has only a week, in which to carry out his scheme for notoriety. Of course, curiosity seekers will buy the paper in large numbers; and the increase in circulation will be pointed to by all the shallow-pates as proof that a daily paper may profitably be turned into a Sunday school journal. A year's trial would quickly prove the falsity of this absurd assumption. Meanwhile, it may be pointed out that if Jesus was at all the man his biographers describe him to be, he was a radical and a friend of the people. He would certainly not work up a commercial scheme, by which the paper was to be made to sell through his notoriety, and its price to be tripled, to bring in a bountiful supply of swag for himself and the scheming owner of the paper. It is a clever advertising trick; and the Topeka Capital will undoubtedly net many dollars by its ridiculous pose—to say nothing of all it makes during the Sheldon week, by its very un-Jesus-like advance in price. We are told that Jesus was very bitter in his denunciation of the "social pillars" of his day for their hypocrisy and heartlessness, and that he caused himself to be hated by all the ruling classes, for telling them plain truth, which they called treason and sedition. Let us see what Sheldon will have to say of the evils, frauds, and injustices of today, and of those who uphold them. Will he declare for the full liberties of the people, and incur the fear and hatred of the ruling class? I think not. The Topeka Capital which prints columns each day of comments from other papers, will take good pains to omit this, which exposes its own mercenary motives, and will continue to gull the dolts who like to be imposed on.

◆ ◆ ◆

Are there no comrades, better posted than the rest of us as to affairs in Idaho, who can keep us informed to developments there? * The outrages committed in the name of government in that State are entirely unknown to the people at large; and few of us are able to learn what is going on there at present. Let us have the news from that region, where United States troops force workingmen into slavery at the point of the bayonet.

◆ ◆ ◆

Comrade Oliver's annihilation of the brass-tongued Beveridge is timely and effective. The imperialistic gang have proved themselves to be a mere lot of freebooters. Having grown fat by pillage of the masses at home, they seek new lands to conquer. A specimen of the results of "beneficent assimilation" may be seen in Porto Rico, where the unsuspicious natives freely opened their arms to the Americans, not knowing that they were simply giving themselves up as an easy prey to a horde of rapacious plunderers. Now they are reaping their natural reward. A quarter of the people are starving on an island of almost incomparable fertility. But their sufferings are nothing to the Congressional knaves who are concocting a system of tariff robbery to impose on their wretched slaves. Already rebellion is in the air; and the Porto Ricans are openly expressing their preference for Spanish brutality over the politer forms of extortion practised by the United States. It is evident that the political robbers in Washington have not the most rudimentary conceptions of decency. They are too busy sending mercenaries to shoot civilization into so-called rebels who stand up like men for their liberties, to have any time to think of human needs. These things may be remembered in the hour of retribution.

◆ ◆ ◆

Democratic thieves and Republican murderers are creating a fine state of affairs in Kentucky. The frauds of Goebel and his adherents were bad enough; but the murderous course of Taylor is almost without parallel in this country. If not in league with the assassin of Goebel, he is, at least, extraordinarily anxious that his friend, the murderer, shall not be found out. He is the real cause of the act, having brought a gang of cutthroats to Frankfort for just such a purpose, and lure the Democratic legislators off to a bandit stronghold, where they would certainly be murdered by the good, law-abiding, mountain Republicans. The assassin of Goebel was not an Anarchist, any more than Taylor, who shields him, and who shows an indecent heartlessness hardly to be believed. No Anarchist could escape hanging with a tenth of the evidence against him which convicts Taylor of participation in the murder of Goebel. Thus the champions of law and order are ready enough to trample their own laws under foot, whenever it suits their interest. He is a fool, who still expects to redress wrongs turough the ballot box, or to obtain justice from rulers.

◆ ◆ ◆

The heartlessness of the American government toward Porto Rico is exactly paralelled by that of the British government toward India. There millions of the people are starving; and famine overspreads the land. But what is all this to the worthless parasite, Victoria, herself a beggar supported by public charity. This miserable hag, who never did a noble deed in her life, requires all the millions she steals from the people, to supply her own extravagances. She talks in the true tyrant's vein about "*my* people," "*my* soldiers," "*my* colonies," as if millions of human beinge, and millions of square miles of land, were personal assets of her own. She, who has been the most contemptible of thieves all her life, has no idea that men and women have rights of their own, and some other mission in life than to minister to the whims of crowned loafers like herself. Yet millions of Britons, and many Americans, including Susan B. Anthony, slobber over her as if she were a divine being. If she performs an act of ordinary decency, such as would be expected as a matter of course from any common woman, it is heralded throughout the world as a proof of superhuman virtue. Perhaps such an act does appear unusually bright, by being placed in contrast with the ordinary course of her greedy, useless life.

◆ ◆ ◆

British imperialism in South Africa keeps pace with American outrages in the Philippine Islands, but seems to be meeting with less success. The revelalations of ex-Consul Marcum show the flimsiness of the administration's neutrality gab. McKinley and his gang prove to be in this the same liars and hypocrites they have shown themselves to be in everything else. The secret understanding with Great Britain means a determination of both governments to unite for the exploitation of weaker races. It is damnable, but only what might have been expected.

◆ ◆ ◆

The anniversary of the punishment of Charles I. for his crimes against the people, was recently celebrated by some of the British and American admirers of tyranny. Every intelligent reader of history knows that Charles Stuart was a vile wretch, who met with his just deserts at the hands of an outraged people. Nevertheless, a parcel of foul sycophants had the audacity to enwreathe his statue with flowers, and to add the lying inscription: "America remembers her martyred King." Yet no United States Senator has arisen to call these infamous Jacobites traitors. That epithet is reserved for men who dare to tell the truth, and show up the villainy of the administration. The schemers who trample on the Declaration of Independence, and plot to make this nation a complete monarchy, are courted in high places. JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

REPRIMANDS.

No. 255 of Free Society is particularly good,—from Victor Southworth's "Social Revolution" down to the last, but not least—Voltairine de Cleyre's contribution, and it would bring life into the movement if the different writers would only keep on in the way they have done in that issue. Why do we not hear oftener from them? Why are we so isolated? Let Voltairine herself answer, why she is not with us oftener. Certainly not because she is not loved by us, even if we do disagree with her, as I most emphatically do in this instance of inviting Comrade Turner, who won us all with his unanswerable logic and true-hearted comradeship. But if the comrades, who are successful in life, are so cold and indifferent as they have proven themselves toward the tour being so unselfishly made by Comrade Morton, a very capable man, why invite Turner, involving additional expenses and in all probability a failure?

Morton has gone west to help the publishers of Free

Society and its Library to add one more worker to that brave band. He has *given* all his powers of intellect to the comrades in every place he could touch along the line, and yet it takes a few of the very poor (in purse) comrades to make it anything like a gleam of hope whether he can arrive in San Francisco. We talk against the capitalists, but the comrades—especially of the professional type—are as indifferent and distant as Mark Hanna. If we do not stand together and show that we appreciate a Morton, we do not deserve a Turner. The fact that a man is giving the best years of his life for such a cause should make us at least appreciate his efforts by our earnest co-operation. But co-operation seems to be dead among us. We split up into small groups, run a few leaflets and designate them "papers." Why don't we pool our cash and establish *one* good, healthy paper, then another, and so on, as our means will permit? Isolation seems to be freezing Anarchism into a stiff corpse; not by any act of the capitalist, but by the neglect of comrade by comrade,—by what Whittick used to call "don't care a damnativeness." Do individuals with so little appreciation merit the grip of the oppressor to wring wealth out of them, or a man like Morton to shower it on them?

The following is not said in anger toward Comrade Holmes, who was the staunch friend of our noble, murdered comrades when I was one of the stupid, fear-stricken workers, still believing in the dear government; but if the ideal of absence of rule of man over man—Anarchy—still produces lawyers, judges, brothel keepers and *a school of commercial Anarchists*, then it is our enemy and the sooner we abandon such a *rotten* bark the better. Imagine Albert Parsons owner of a brothel,—"an Anarchist in good standing"!!! The capitalist and rent robber and profit thief—all can defend themselves by the very argument Holmes uses.

We are all *driven* to inconsistencies, but we positively *abandon* our principles *absolutely* when we take part in politics, and even the present conditions do not compel *any one* but a *vicious parasite to keep a brothel.*

Well, does Jean Grave say, "our principles are used to cover individual vices"? There are many parasites walking around with the tag "Anarchiste," but only those who *do* sacrifice some comforts to get closer to their ideal *here* and *now* are Anarchists. The others may like the ideal, but they do not crave for the *reality* else they would never be judges and brothel keepers. To be a lenient judge, to look into the life of the criminal with mercy, is the ideal of many conservatives, but out of their ranks may come the true idealists of the future, in their hands perhaps will the pure voluntary co-operation come, and our *expedient* comrades may then have an attack of atavism and want judges, lawyers, commercialism and brothels, all of which we object to in our Christian and Jew neighbor. Are we really jealous of their success in the vices?

Philadelphia, Pa. SUSAN PATTON.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

METHODS AND TACTICS.

Since the question of methods and tactics is up for discussion again in Free Society, I wish to say a few words on that subject.

The bogy of inconsistency seems to be as frightful to some Anarchists as "sin" used to be to the Puritans. The demand that we live up to a given standard is in itself puritanical, and smacks of that code of ethics based on stoicism which has tinctured the thought of so many who disclaim all belief in the established authority, given morality or religion. This mental attitude is undoubtedly due to a bit of the sense of duty which has not been eliminated from the feelings, and rises up to color the thought of the individual in whom it exists.

Let us examine into how efforts at propaganda succeed, and judge the tactics by the results, not by any theory. In doing this pardon any seeming egotism on my part, for I can best show that all means are justifiable, when used with due discretion, and at appropriate times and places, by giving a bit of history in which I played a part.

The movement in this city had its beginning in the People's Free Reading Room and Library Association, and the lectures that were for a time carried on in connection with the reading room. I proposed the formation of such an association, was for a year and one half secretary and librarian, and therefore know where the money came from to support it, and also have some knowledge of the effect of our efforts in that line.

A millionaire was president of the association, and a large amount of the funds of the association came from the wealthy and the mercantile classes. The reading room and lectures brought together the various radicals and my private room in connection therewith became the headquarters for the revolutionists. And, mind you, this was being paid for, in large part, by the very class that most dreads revolution.

It was in the capacity of a librarian of this association that I became acquainted with J. H. Morris, and my room became the editorial headquarters of Freedom, the first Anarchist paper published in the northwest, while the paper was gotten out in the office of the Pacific Christian Advocate, Comrade Morris securing that privilege. Oh, horrible inconsistency, Jesuitical trick! But it had the desired effect. And, let me say, it was not the plutocrats, nor the officials that killed Freedom, but the treachery of a reformer.

Later on it was money gotten from men following professions that we all despise, in ways that I need not mention, that paid many bills for The Firebrand when nothing was coming in from the comrades and we were living on bread and potatoes, without butter or molasses to grease or sweaten our bread with.

Comrade Emma Goldman told us in Free Society that the propaganda could not thrive when the propagandists were as inconsistent as Comrade Doering and myself, and others wrote in the same strain, but how is it? The movement is only nine years old in Portland, dating from the establishment of the Free Reading Room, and yet I have the first report of Comrade Most's meeting to read of where the audiences were as large, the enthusiasm as great, or his treatment by the local papers as fair as in this city.

When comrade Emma Goldman was here a hot political campaign was on, halls were hard to get and rents high. All kinds of free entertainments were being given all over town and yet she had what she termed "well attended meetings." The average of her three meetings was probably 300. We paid all the expenses of her meetings and gave her over $40. Where did the money come from? Well, that's the question. I know where $35 came from. It came out of the pockets of the commercial men, lawyers, politicians, and even the United States attorney who was then prosecuting The Firebrand case was not exempt from a levy. It may seem gally, as well as inconsistent to ask a public prosecutor to contribute toward the expense of a meeting to promote the very thing he is prosecuting, but it takes gall to deal with the men who live in harmony with the present day society.

Now, do not understand me to advocate inconsistency, not at all. That is not what I am driving at. The point I am trying to illustrate is this: that whenever you can push on the propaganda, at the expense of the enemy, or by doing things which we would never dream of doing in a condition of Anarchy, don't let your conscience trouble you, but get in your work. Nor yet think that a little deviation from the path of what we think will be moral rectitude in Anarchy will militate against the spread of our ideas in such a degree as to counterbalance the good to be accomplished by timely presentation of our ideas in a convincing manner, and the spread of Anarchist literature.

What is needed is that every one should know what Anarchy really is, and what Anarchists "are after anyhow." Now, then, if that is the main thing,—and who will say it is not,—it simply remains for each one to determine how he or she can best accomplish this end. If every one is to know, then a repulsive attitude toward the representatives of the plutocratic press, or toward any persons, or class of persons, is not good propaganda.

I am quite well acquainted with senator Joseph Simon, and on good terms with ex-Governor Pennoyer. They represent the antipodes of politics in Oregon, and both know me to be an Anarchist. In fact, Pennoyer very materially assisted our Free Reading Room, while Simon once asked me, "Are you an Anarchist?" to which I replied in the affirmative, handing him a copy of The Firebrand. I know that both of these men are opposed to Anarchy, and they know that I am opposed to capitalism and politics, but that does not prevent me from making any use I can of either or both of them, or their influence or wealth to help on the propaganda. And why should it?

D. P. Thompson, a millionaire of this city, a bitter opponent of radicalism, was president of our Reading Room Association, and his money and influence helped to establish and sustain the venture. Did that hurt the propaganda? Did Comrade Morris' connection with the Christian Advocate, or his inconsistency of getting married after writing so splendidly against legal marriage kill the influence of his writings? Indeed not!

Comrade Klemencic, who started the movement in Tacoma, and who was an avowed Atheist, was a member of the Church of Universal Religion, and on friendly terms with a number of ministers in Tacoma. I have seen him combating the supreme judge of Washington, and other "big men" of Tacoma in the "Social Science Class" of the Church he belonged to. Did that tact hurt the propaganda in Tacoma? On the contrary, it helped it very much.

But it is not necessary to carry this any further. As I said before, every effort must be judged by the results. Now, I do not say that the methods and tactics that have been pursued here are practical everywhere, but our success is a standing evidence that they were all right at the time and in this place. Proving that, it proves that many and various means are practical, efficacious and justifiable, and that they need not, necessarily, conform to present morality, nor yet to the ethical code we think will prevail in Anarchy.

HENRY ADDIS.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

COMPULSORY VACCINATION.

The health boards of Missouri and Kansas are urging upon their respective legislatures the need of compulsory vaccination. Medical authorities everywhere are not slow in tacking up this demand for one more infamous law, and boldly ask for a uniform law in all the States, to this doubtful and questionable method of combating smallpox.

The Journal of the American Medical Association for February reports smallpox prevalent in 30 States, and claims that this state of affairs is "due to the lack of sanitary regulations." This calls for a general cleaning up of back yard districts and education along hygienic lines of preserving the bodily health of the individual. But vaccination, judging from some of its results, can hardly be called a sanitary measure. Recently the New York Medical Journal recorded an epidemic of syphilis in a family of eight persons, father, mother and six children, the youngest an infant of six months, the direct result of vaccination, and all the cases were of a severe type. Numerous instances of a like nature are on record. I recall one of a peculiarly sad nature. At the first outbreak of the Spanish-American War, a young man enlisted in an Iowa company, having a good position as salesman, and was sent to one of the southern camps. He left a picture of health. In a few months he returned a cripple for life, poisoned by vaccine virus.

There is a widespread difference of opinion among medical men as to the benefits of vaccination. Many noted physicians, among them the Drs. Foote of New York City, bitterly condemn this method of fighting smallpox and claim that they trace the source of many malignant ailments that afflict their patients as the direct result of being poisoned by vaccination. So long as men, who all their lives have studied the subject of vaccination, persist in differing so widely in their views as to the results, and are so bitterly opposed to each others' methods, it stands the people in hand to repudiate all such attempts at invasive laws as the conservative medical priesthood seem bound to inflict.

Secretary James Evans, of the South Carolina board of health, complains that the "igorant and illiterate classes fear vaccination more than they do the smallpox." I could quote eminent medical authority to prove that their fears in this repect are well founded Yet in the face of public opinion and in spite of the advice of competent physicians opposed to vaccination, this asinsine member of the South Carolina board of health declares that the "present legislature is confidently expected to pass a compulsory vaccination law," and adds that he "hopes that the law will make vaccination a prerequisite to admission to the schools, factories of every description, and all transportation companies." Dr. Swan, secretary of the Kansas board of health, puts himself on record as favoring "uniform laws in all American States on this subject."

If such a law be enacted—and it is within the possibilities, for there are numerous laws of like nature on our statute books—it will be necessary to provide penalties for its non-enforcement, which means a rich harvest for lawyers, and legal troubles without end. Are we never to have an end of such infernal encroachments? If our servants force a compulsory vaccination law upon us, at the instigation of a medical hierarchy, the thing for every self-respecting individual to do, who is opposed to vaccination, is to RESIST. All the power of the State should never be sufficient to intimidate a man or woman into a passive acceptance of this outrageous indignity. KATE AUSTIN.

256

The number printed on the wrapper of your paper shows that your subscription has been paid up to that number.

RFJOINDER.

Comrade Voltairine de Cleyre asks me what her sentiments are in which I disagree. Well, perhaps it is that sentiment of the "uncertainty as to Jean Grave's Future Society." I certainly agree with her when she says, "Personally I long ago gave up system-building, seeing too many loopholes for authority, and too much of the Social Democratic sin of fashioning a mould on an existing industrial form to fit, nay to cram, unforeseen developments." But I cannot see that Jean Grave has done this in "Moribund Society & Anarchy." In her preface she says: "He (Jean Grave) is sure of his remedy—Communism; I, of his criticism, Anarchy." This led me to believe that her hopes lay in the negation—Anarchy, rather than in the co operative ntelligence—Communism. I am farther assured of this in reflecting on the pessimistic tone that pervades her essays and addresses. She will pardon my criticism, I am sure, when she knows how deeply I feel the necessity of a more cheerful and hopeful propaganda.

E. Elms, N. Y. A. L. Ballou.

"ACTIVE SERVICE BRIGADE."

Our few comrades in Australia are working under the above name and seem to have been quite active in their efforts to make themselves known and improve their own condition. The following report is taken from an Australian daily:

"A meeting of the A. S. B. council was held on Wednesday at the Headquarters to consider the report of Mr. John Dwyer, chief worker of the association. The report submitted showed that an income had been derived from various sources, amounting to nearly £509 during 1899, and that the expenditure had been something like £650. The assets, however, were fully 50 per cent. more than the debts. Mining operation by fossicking for gold, and ground sluicing, and in a few cases sinking by parties of two and three men, had been carried on all the year. Four lodging-houses had been operated in the city at cheap rates, and arrangements had been entered into for the renting of a house and 100 acres of land near Nowra. The Active Service Brigade had mainly confined its operations to the industrial side, with the exception of the Commonwealth Bill campaign, in which it took sides in favor of the bill. No profit was derived or attempted to be obtained from any of the industrial efforts, the principal object aimed at being to secure a decent living for those engaged, and to secure independence of action. The report was accepted unanimously, and declared satisfactory, and the books well kept. A special meeting was afterward held by the 'brethren' of the council, at which the political action for 1900 was discussed, so far as the Australian Socialistic Brethren proposed to work It was resolved to remain distinct from all political parties, the Active Service Brigade to be kept separate also, and to be confined to operations and business matters only.

THE CLANKING OF THE CHAIN.

Our social system offers a premium on rascality. A person must be made of the pure stuff never to prostitute their honor in any way. I don't like to use deception, but how can one exist without resorting to it in times that "try men's souls." I am sure my brain is too clouded to see through the mists into a clear light: a battlefield where fiercest conflicts are being waged. I rebel against all interference, at the same time yield to it with inward wrath. I'd like to know just what I'd be like under perfect freedom; the "old hands" hustle me about considerably. I am stained by their superstition in a measure. Not that I believe in spooks, signs, etc., but at times I am bewildered—terribly depressed, like a dark cloud envelopes me, making everything look so gloomy and discouraging. At others—more particularly on bright, sunny days—the world is the brightest old thing imaginable, all smile.

When I read and see the stupidity of the victims of toil and greed, my heart sinks and almost dies within me, and I wonder if the world does move. Are we nearer a peaceable reconciliation with the powers that be than we were ten or twenty years ago? Would the workers have borne the indignities and cruelties then as they do now? It looks to me that in the event we revolt against the money power we are lost, and we are surely lost if we don't.

Just see the fools here today professing sympathy for the Boers, yet ready to take their lives and property. Verily, what corruption won't money cover up! Kropotkin says: "We are vegetating in the swamps of corruption." It looks as though we were rotting in them only to nourish the very evils we protest against. There are more men every year that can be bought at election time, and women sell themselves for any old thing that comes along. Big sleeves, light sleeves, humps, hairpins, crinolins, corsets; high heels, low heels; shoes that rui one's feet; paint, powder, puff and scrimps, and who knows what not to make themselves look "so sweet"! This is what we are pleased to call the "march of intellect." Enlightened nation, aren't we?—taking into consideration the fact that we started from a perfect pair. It's clear through health-dress-habits, etc., but very little rationality in all. As the Yohro says:

Well, since the whole's a mass of half-crazed things,
Lords, beggars, fools, pickpockets, priests and kings,
With non-descripts of all sorts out of number,
We'll class them altogether as live lumber?

* * *

I could hardly make out L. Holmes' article "Mental Barriers." She seems to to be sort of apologizing for her deviation from the plumbliner's beaten path. "We have got to let the world come up to us before we can go any further." It sounds as though out of necessity we would have to flounder around in the wilderness in the meantime. "Why not wonder a little of what we are going to think, when we are free to think whatever we wish?" Can we think what we wish? Why speculate on such themes? Again: "We are constantly dragging from the mists of mysticism and speculation some truth which finally blesses the world." Better clear the mists away—the truth needs no dragging out. I expect the Spiritualists think they are digging up great chunks of truth which in time future generations will bless them for. I wonder if the philosphers, reformers and scientists ever felt they must call a halt in their researches and let the world come up to them, and speculated on what next they should think or do until the race would be up with them?

G. V. B.

It is learned that the United States senatorial chairs, bought as mahagony, are cheaply veneered *wood*. That is the trouble with most of their occupants. They are "wooden-heads."—The Star.

"Well, Jim," said the boss to one of his workmen who had spoiled a piece of work, "try it again, for you know I never discourage honest labor."

"You are right, boss," said Jim; "honest labor is indeed discouraging enough in itself without discouraging it any further."

RECEIPTS.

Please do not use private checks nor bank checks if you can avoid it.

The safest and most acceptable manner of remitting is by postoffice or express money order.

Sweeney, $1. Blum, Tverson, Thomas, Deike Machacek, Sperber, Beckermeyer, Knoefel, each 50c Logun, Jackson, Lundberg, Busold, Thole, Rudolph, Ringer, Stroka, each 25c. Aulman, 15 cents

BOOK LIST.

In lots of ten or more of each, five-cent pamphlets furnished at three cents.

The State: Its Historic Role. By Peter Kropotkin	10
Law and Authority. By P. Kropotkin	05
Anarchist Morality. By Peter Kropotkin	05
The Wage System. Revolutionary Government. By Peter Kropotkin	05
Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal. By Peter Kropotkin	05
An Appeal to the Young. By Kropotkin	05
Expropriation. By Peter Kropotkin	05
Revolutionary Studies. By P. Kroptkin	05
Paris Commune. By Peter Kropotkin	05
Anarchy. By Enrico Malatesta	05
Direct Action vs. Legislation. By Smith	05
Monopoly, or How Labor is Robbed. By William Morris	05
The Emancipation of Society from Government. By Dallan Doyle	05
Mating or Marrying, Which? A Lesson from History. The Problem of Criminality. By W. H. Van Ornum	05
Essays on the Social Problem. By Henry Addis	05
For Love and Money By Leighton Pagan.	15
My Century Plant. By Lois Waisbrooker.	
A treatise on the sex problem. Cloth	1.00
Helen Harlow's Vow. By L. Waisbrooker	25
Hilda's Home. By Rosa Graul Cloth $1. Paper cover	50
Wherefore Investigating Company, regular price 50c, but while present supply lasts "they go at"	25
The Proletarian Revolt, a History of the Paris Commune 1871. By G. B Benham.	25
History of the Paris Commune of 1871. By Lissagary. Cloth	75
The Chicago Martyrs: The Famous Speeches of the Eight Anarchists in Judge Gary's Court and Altgeld's Reasons for Pardoning Fielden, Neebe and Schwab	25
Moribund Society and Anarchy. By Jean Grave	25
Bound	60
God and Government: The Siamese Twins of Superstition. By W. E. Nevill	05
The Tables Turned By William Morris	05
An Open Letter to W. J. Bryan. By Nevill.	10
Our Worship of Primitive Social Guesses. By E. C. Walker	15
What the Young Need to Know. By E. C. Walker	10
Rivival of Puritanism By E. C. Walker	10
Life Without a Master A Treatise on the Rights and Wrongs of Men. 256 pages. By J. Wilson, Ph. D. Cloth	1.50
Paper cover	1.00

Freiheit, a German Anarchist Communist weekly. Four large pages. $2 per year. Address, 69 Gold St, New York, N. Y.

50 YEARS' EXPERIENCE.

PATENTS

TRADE MARKS, DESIGNS, COPYRIGHTS &c.

Anyone sending a sketch and description may quickly ascertain, free, whether an invention is probably patentable Communications strictly confidential. Oldest agency for securing patents in America. We have a Washington office. Patents taken through Munn & Co. receive special notice in the

SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN,

beautifully illustrated, largest circulation of any scientific journal, weekly, terms $3.00 a year; $1.50 six months. Specimen copies and HAND BOOK ON PATENTS sent free. Address

MUNN & CO.,
361 Broadway, New York.

A PHYSICIAN IN THE HOUSE.

A NEW

Family Medical Work.

IT IS THE BEST MEDICAL BOOK FOR THE HOME YET PRODUCED.

BY

DR. J. H. GREER.

It has 16 colored plates showing different parts of the human body.

This book is up to date in every particular. It will save you doctor bills. It tells you how to cure yourself by simple and harmless **Home** remedies. The book recommends **No Poisonous** or **Dangerous Drugs**. It teaches simple **Common Sense Methods** in accordance with Nature's laws. It does **not** endorse dangerous experiments with the surgeon's **Knife** It teaches how to save **Health** and **Life** by safe methods. It is entirely free from technical rubbish. It teaches **Prevention**—that it is better to know how to live and **Avoid** disease than to take any medicine as a cure.

It teaches how **Typhoid** and other **Fevers** can be both **Prevented** and **Cured** It gives the best known treatment for La Grippe, Diphtheria, Catarrh, Consumption, Appendicites and every other disease. This book is **Not** an **Advertisement** and has **No Medicine** to sell. It tells you how to live that you may **Prolong** life. It **Opposes** medical fads of all kinds and makes uncompromising **War** on **Vaccination** and the use of anti-toxine. It has hundreds of excellent recipes for the cure of the various diseases. The chapter on **Painless Midwifery** is worth its weight in Gold to women It has a large number of valuable illustrations. The "Care of Children" is something every mother ought to read. It teaches the value of **Air Sunshine** and **Water** as medicines. This book cannot fail to please you. If you are looking for **Health** by the safest and easiest means, do not **Delay Getting The Book**.

This book is printed in clear type on good book paper, beautifully bound in cloth with gold letters. It has 800 Octavo pages.

PRICE $2.75.

Send Orders To FREE SOCIETY

MORIBUND SOCIETY AND ANARCHY.

Translated from the French of
Jean Grave
By Voltairine de Cleyre.

Price 25 Cents.

5 copies $1.00. 10 copies $1.50

Send orders to FREE SOCIETY.

THE CHICAGO MARTYRS.

The Famous Speeches of the Eight Anarchists in Court.

—AND—

Altgeld's Reasons for Pardoning Fielden, Neebe and Schwab.

This book contains a half-tone picture of our eight comrades and one of the monument erected at Waldheim cemetery to the memory of those murdered by the government. This is the best edition of the book ever printed. It contains 168 pages.

Price 25 Cents.

HISTORY OF THE COMMUNE OF 1871.

Translated from the French of
Lissagary by
Eleanor Marx Aveling.

The above book is the most reliable history of the Commune of 1871. and should be in every library of the student of revolutionary movements. The book contains 500 pages, bound in cloth. We have made arrangements with the publishers and are enabled to mail the book postpaid for

75 cents.

Send your orders to FREE SOCIETY.